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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.

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SOURCE Newspapers as indicated.

SURVEY OF FIFTEEN NON-RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE REPUBLIC-NEWSPAPERS *25 Mar 55*

This report presents information on 15 non-Russian-language re-  
public newspapers. It provides a comparison of their contents with  
the Russian-language republic and central press, based on a study of  
the headlines and length of all articles in two issues -- 6 and  
7 January 1951 -- of each paper. The articles are tabulated by sub-  
ject and source.

This survey of 15 non-Russian-language republic newspapers representing the  
15 non-Russian republics of the USSR was undertaken to determine whether or not,  
or to what extent, their processing would contribute to current intelligence in-  
formation concerning the USSR. Two issues of each paper were compared for con-  
tent with the Russian-language central and republic press to determine the ex-  
tent of duplication. Although it was estimated that some 40 percent of the  
contents was exclusive in the non-Russian-language press, only a small part of  
this 40 percent represents information of possible intelligence value.

The word "Russian" is used here only to mean "Great Russian" and in refer-  
ence to the RSFSR. Two other available newspapers -- Sovet Ermenistany and  
Sovetakan Vrastan, published in the language of the second largest national  
group of Armenia and Georgia, respectively, (see Table 1) -- were not considered  
in this survey.

The 6 and 7 January 1951 issues of each of the 15 titles were compared for  
content with the 2 - 8 January issues of the Russian-language provincial news-  
papers and with the central press.

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More than half of the information in the 15 non-Russian-language newspapers examined was not found in the Russian-language papers. This would seem to be due chiefly to the large amount of local news available to both types of papers and the relatively small amount of space in which to print it, and to the fact that the non-Russian papers tend to print more local sociological, industrial, and agricultural news and less party news than their Russian counterparts. Certain other factors may account to a small extent for the failure to find a greater degree of duplication: the time lag between the publication of certain items in the Russian and non-Russian papers, translation difficulties in connection with several of the languages, and the smallness of the sample. Within the limitations of this survey, however, it is estimated that, nonetheless, about 40 percent of the information in the non-Russian papers is exclusive in these papers.

General Information on the Non-Russian Provincial Press

Except for the language in which they are written, the 15 non-Russian newspapers surveyed for this report follow the customary pattern of the Soviet provincial press and are almost the exact counterparts of the corresponding Russian-language papers. The Soviet non-Russian press is an example of Stalin's nationality policy -- Socialist in content, national in form -- in action, and it provides a nondisruptive outlet for local national pride. In addition, it serves to convey the party line to national groups and to mobilize the population to carry out national policies.

Circulation of the non-Russian-language press at all levels (republic, oblast, e c.) is much lower than that of the Russian-language press, although the actual number of non-Russian-language newspapers is comparatively high (in 1947 there were 1,959, as compared with 5,204 Russian-language newspapers), according to Alex Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia (Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1950), p 146.

The non-Russian-language republic newspapers surveyed usually have four pages, except for Cina, which usually consists of six somewhat smaller pages. Each of the 15 papers, like its Russian-language counterpart, is the organ of its republic party central committee; eight (Kizil Uzbekiston, Kommunist, Komunisti, Moldova Sochialiste, Sovet Turkmenistany, Sovetakan Hayastan, Tojikistoni Surkh, and Totuus) also represent the party committee of the city in which each is published: six (Kizil Uzbekiston, Kyzyl Kyrgyzstan, Sotsialistik Kazakaten, Sovet Turkmenistany, Tojikistoni Surkh, and Zvyazda) are at the same time the organ of the oblast party committee; 13 represent the republic supreme soviet or all soviets of the republic (exceptions: Kommunist and Sotsialistik Kazakstan); and three (Radyans'ka Ukraina, Tiesa, and Zvyazda) also represent their respective council of ministers. The non-Russian-language republic newspapers, for the most part, represent the same variety of party and government organizations as their Russian-language counterparts. Exceptions to this are Komunisti and Tiesa.

Provincial press editors are appointed by the republic party central committee, and must be confirmed by the TsK VKP(b). The editors are also members of the republic party central committee. Editors of the 15 non-Russian provincial newspapers surveyed bear obviously non-Russian names (exceptions: Jemeljanov, or Yemelyanov, editor of Totuus, and Dragun, editor of Zvyazda), while most of the editors of the Russian-language provincial press are apparently Russians (exceptions: Krasnyuk, probably a Ukrainian, editor of Pravda Ukrainy, and, perhaps, Bebutov, whose national origin is not apparent, editor of the Yerevan Russian-language newspaper Kommunist).

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Content

Provincial newspapers, both Russian and non-Russian, serve essentially the same function on the republic level that the central press serves for the nation at large. They are permitted to discuss almost as wide a range of problems as the central papers. They are expected to provide a thorough analysis and clarification of such problems as plant and factory management, planning, technological processes, financing, cost and quality of goods, etc. They are supposed to deal with problems of party propaganda, aiding the regional party personnel to raise their ideological and theoretical level.

Newspapers of republic party central committees are not subject to censorship by Glavlit (Main Administration for Literature and Publishing, Ministry of Education RSFSR). (RSFSR Laws 1931, No 273, Section 5) Editors and other key personnel are selected because they can be trusted to carry out party policy and there is, therefore, no need for censorship. The chief problem that arises in the supervision of the press is not keeping material out, but putting in material which will most efficiently ensure fulfillment by the papers of the specific functions they are designed to meet. General guidance and supervision of the newspapers' work is the responsibility of the press sector under the propaganda and agitation section of every republic party central committee.

News items in the 15 newspapers surveyed were, for purposes of the following description and Table 2, categorized according to subject and source of information. The categories, therefore, overlap to a large extent.

Within the group of newspapers surveyed, the number and variety of items varied greatly from newspaper to newspaper and from day to day. On 7 January, for example, Tojikistoni Surkh carried only 17 articles, in contrast to Tiesa, which, on 6 January, contained 70 items. Slightly over half (54 percent) of the total number of articles were not found to be duplicated in the Russian-language republic newspapers. This may have been in part the result of several factors listed above; nevertheless, it is estimated that about 40 percent of the information in the non-Russian-language papers did not appear in the Russian-language press. Totuus and Sovet Turkmenistany had the highest percentages (62 and 63 percent, respectively) of articles not found in the Russian-language papers; Cina, the lowest (45 percent).

Type and Sources of Information (See Table 2)

The number of items on industry varied from 21 in Zvyazda for the 2 days surveyed to one each in Kizil Uzbekiston and Sovet Turkmenistany. The great majority of these items was not found in the Russian-language papers. The same was true of items on agriculture, which ranged from 22 in Totuus to four in Kyzyl Kyrgyzstan, Tiesa, and Tojikistoni Surkh.

The largest number of items on party matters during the 2 days was the 11 in Sotsialistik Kazakstan; Komunisti carried only one such item. Stories on the party, which dealt chiefly with minor party matters, were usually submitted by the newspapers' special correspondents and, for this reason, the great majority of these articles was not found in the Russian-language papers.

The number of items on sociological subjects, including the arts, literature, education, science, etc., ranged from 19 in Kommunist, Rahva Haal, and Tiesa, to six in Cina. Ninety percent of the sociological items in Totuus were not found in the Russian-language papers, whereas 30 percent of those in Kyzyl Kyrgyzstan were not found.

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The number of foreign news items varied from 51 in Tiesa to 11 in Tojikistoni Surkh. Almost all of these were TASS dispatches, which are disseminated by that agency to all provincial papers for publication, evidently at the editors' discretion. An average of 91 percent of the foreign news stories was found in the Russian-language papers. This percentage would probably have been higher, but for the time lag in publication of TASS dispatches in non-Russian-language papers.

TASS items constituted an average of 31 percent of the total number of items printed during the 2 days in the newspapers surveyed. Eighty-seven percent of the TASS items were found in the Russian-language papers. (In some cases, items which had obviously been distributed by TASS were not so labeled.) All of the TASS items in Kizil Uzbekiston were identified in Russian-language papers; the lowest percentage of TASS items so identified was 72 percent in Kyzyl Kyrgyzstan. The largest number of TASS items (60) was in Tiesa, and the highest percentage in relation to the total number of items was 45 percent in Tiesa and Sotsialistika Kazakhstan. Tojikistoni Surkh carried the low of 15 TASS dispatches, while Radyans'ka Ukraina had the lowest percentage (13 percent) of TASS items in relation to the total number of items. It may be assumed that almost all information in TASS dispatches is available in the Russian-language papers at some time and in some form.

The number of stories distributed by republic telegraph agencies varied from the 12 Estonian Telegraph Agency dispatches in Rahva Haal to one each of the Azerbaydizhan and Karelo-Finnish telegraph agencies dispatches in Kommunist and Totuus. Tiesa was unique in that its 60 TASS dispatches were also marked ELTA (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency). The remaining five of the 65 ELTA stories were not marked TASS. An average of 83 percent of republic telegraph agency stories were not found in Russian-language papers, possibly because the number of telegraph agency items was small in both Russian and non-Russian papers in relation to the number of items distributed.

The number of correspondents' stories ranged from 28 for the 2 days in Tiesa, 27 in Rahva Haal, and 25 in Radyans'ka Ukraina, to six in Komunisti. On the average, 97 percent of the correspondents' stories were not found in the Russian papers. The chief exception was Tojikistoni Surkh, in which a high of three out of 12, or 25 percent, were found in Russian. In 11 of the 15 republic newspapers, none of the correspondents' stories was found in Russian. Correspondents' stories include those from both staff and nonstaff correspondents. According to Inkeles, the main function of the latter is to report on local economic, party, and government affairs. Most of the nonstaff correspondents are Komsomols, young party members, and nonparty Bolsheviks.

The daily Pravda lead editorials are wired or radioed in full to all other papers in the USSR each day by TASS, and these are sometimes reprinted in the republic newspapers. However, half of the editorials -- including most of the lead editorials -- are exclusive with the newspaper in which they appear.

Very few of the pictures, cartoons, and maps in the papers surveyed were found in the Russian-language press. These items may either be distributed to all papers by TASS or the republic telegraph agency, or may be sent in by local correspondents, and therefore are exclusive with the non-Russian-language newspaper. The low number of these items found in the Russian-language papers is probably due, in part, to the time lag in publishing them, as well as to the large number and variety of them available for publication.

All but two of the 54 official government announcements were found in both the Russian- and non-Russian-language papers.

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A completely different set of letters to the editor appeared in the Russian and non-Russian press. These are concerned chiefly with local economic and sociological problems.

#### Content Breakdown by Region

The three Baltic newspapers, plus the Karelo-Finnish paper, consistently contained the largest total number of items, averaging 110 for the 2 days, as compared with the over-all average of 87. These papers are all written in Latin script. They also contained a proportionately higher number of foreign news stories, and a low number of stories on party matters, the latter averaging a little over three items per paper, as compared with an over-all average of five. An average of 37 percent of the items in these four papers were TASS dispatches, as compared with an over-all average of 31 percent for all 15 papers. An average of 53 percent of the items in these four papers were not found in the Russian papers, as compared with an over-all average of 54 percent.

The Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Moldavian newspapers also carried a relatively high number of articles (averaging 94 items). These three papers are all written in Cyrillic script; the type is relatively small and closely set. These papers averaged the highest number of stories on the party of any language or regional group. Coverage of foreign news was slightly above the average in volume, averaging 31 items, as compared with the over-all average of 27. These papers carried a relatively low number of TASS dispatches, averaging 23 percent of the total number of items carried, as compared with the over-all average of 31 percent. Fifty-four percent of the items in these papers were not found in the Russian papers.

The three Caucasian newspapers carried an average of 71 stories, as compared with an over-all average of 87. Azerbaijani is the only language of the three written in Cyrillic script, Georgian and Armenian being written in their native scripts. An average of 51 percent of the items in the Caucasian papers were not found to be duplicated in the Russian papers, as compared with an over-all average of 54 percent not duplicated. Thirty-four percent of the items in these papers were TASS dispatches, as compared with an over-all average of 31 percent. The papers contained an average of 23 foreign news stories, as compared with the over-all average of 27, and an average of five items on party matters, the same as the over-all average.

The five Central Asian newspapers averaged 71 items, with an average of 55 percent of the stories not found in the Russian papers. All five languages (four Turko-Tatar and one Indo-Iranian) are written in Cyrillic script. The type in these papers is relatively large, and lines and letters are relatively widely spaced. Although the average number of stories on party matters was not especially high, Sotsialistik Kazakhstan carried 11, the largest number in any of the 15 newspapers surveyed. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, the Russian-language Kazakh paper, also carried a relatively large volume of party information. Twenty-nine percent of the items in the five Central Asian papers were TASS dispatches (the average for the 15 papers was 31 percent); however, 45 percent of the items in Sotsialistik Kazakhstan were from TASS. The Central Asian papers contained an average of 17 foreign news stories, the lowest in comparison with the over-all average of 27.

A list and description of the 17 non-Russian language newspapers surveyed (Table 1), and a breakdown of the total number of items in the 6 and 7 January issues of these newspapers by subject and source (Table 2) follow:

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Table 1. Publishing Data on 17 Non-Russian-Language Newspapers

Title, Date Founded	Publishing Authority	Place, Days per Week Published	Editor	Language, Script
Cina (Struggle), 1904	TsK KP(b) of Latvia; Supreme Soviet Lat- vian SSR	Riga, 6	Karlīs Ozolins	Latvian, (Latin)
Kizil Uzbeki- ston (Red Uzbekistan), 1923	Central and Tashkent Oblast and City Com- mittees, KP(b) of Uzbekistan; Supreme Soviet Uzbek SSR	Tashkent, 5	H. Ghulo- mov	Uzbek, (Cyrillic)
Kommunist (Communist), 1919	Central and Baku City Committees, KP(b) of Azerbayd- zhan	Baku, 5	Gezenfer Memmedov <sup>1</sup>	Azerbaijani, (Cyrillic)
Komunisti (Communist), 1920	Central and Tbilisi Committees, KP(b) of Georgia; Soviets of Workers' Deputies of Georgian SSR	Tbilisi, 5	G. Nani- tashvili	Georgian, (Mkhedruli, or modern Georgian)
Kyzyl Kyrgyz- stan (Red Kirgizia), 1925	Central and Frunze Oblast Committees, KP(b) of Kirgizia; Supreme Soviet Kir- giz SSR	Frunze, 5	A. Sopiyeu	Kirgiz, (Cyrillic)
Moldova Sochialiste (Socialist Moldavia)	Central and Kishinev City Committees, KP(b) of Moldavia; Supreme Soviet Molla- vian SSR	Kishinev, 5	Ya. S. Ior- danov	Moldavian, (Cyrillic)
Radyans'ka Ukraina (So- viet Ukraine), 1919	Central Committee. KP(b) of Ukraine; Su- preme Soviet and Coun- cil of Ministers, Ukrainian SSR	Kiev, 5	L. Pala- marchuk	Ukrainian, (Cyrillic)
Rahva Haal (People's Voice), 1939	Central Committee, KP(b) of Estonia; Su- preme Sov'et Estonian SSR	Tallin, 6	A. Green	Estonian, (Latin)
Sotsialistik Kazakistan (Socialist Kazakhstan), 1921	Central and Alma-Ata Oblast Committees, KP(b) of Kazakhstan	Alma-Ata, 5	K. Shari- pov <sup>2</sup>	Kazakh, (Cyrillic)

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<u>Title, Date Founded</u>	<u>Publishing Authority</u>	<u>Place, Days per Week Published</u>	<u>Editor</u>	<u>Language, Script</u>
Sovet Ermeni- stany (Soviet Armenia), 1921	Central and Yerevan Committees, KP(b) of Armenia	Yerevan, 3	A. Velibe- yov	Azerbaijani, (Cyrillic)
Sovet Turk- menistany (Soviet Turk- menistan)	Central and Ashkhabad Oblast and City Com- mittees, KP(b) of Turkmenistan; Presi- dium, Supreme Soviet Turkmen SSR	Ashkhabad, 5	Ch. Mata- lov <sup>3</sup>	Turkmen, (Cyrillic)
Sovetakan Hayastan (So- viet Armenia), 1920	Central and Yerevan Committees, KP(b) of Armenia; Soviets of Workers' Deputies of Armenian SSR	Yerevan, 6	Gh. Dalla- kyan <sup>4</sup>	Armenian, (Armenian)
Sovetakan Vrastan (So- viet Georgia) 1920	Central and Tbilisi Committees, KP(b) of Georgia	Tbilisi, 2	Z. Bogho- syan	Armenian, (Armenian)
Tiesa (Truth). 1917	Central Committee, KP(b) of Lithuania; Presidium, Supreme Soviet, and Council of Ministers, Lithu- anian SSR	Vil'nyus, 6	G. Zimanas <sup>5</sup>	Lithuanian, (Latin)
Tojikistoni Surkh (Red Tadzhikistan), 1924	Central and Stalin- abad Oblast and City Committees, KP(b) of Tadzhikistan; Supreme Soviet Tadzhik SSR	Stalin- abad, 5	Samad Ghani	Tajiki, (Cyrillic)
Totuus (Truth), 1940	Central and Petro- zavodsk City Commit- tees, KP(b) of the Karelo-Finnish SSR; Supreme Soviet Ka- relo-Finnish SSR	Petroza- vodsk, 5	J. Jemel- janov	Karelian, (Latin)
Zvyazda (Star), 1917	Central and Minsk Oblast Committees, KP(b) of Belorussia; Council of Ministers and Presidium, Su- preme Soviet Belo- russian SSR	Minsk, 5	D. Dragun	Belorussian, (Cyrillic)

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NOTES

1. Rza Guliyev, editor up to 20 Feb 51  
Gezenfer Memmedov, editor 21 Feb - 1 Mar, 18 Mar to present  
N. Imanguliyev, acting editor 2 - 17 Mar 51
2. Z. Zharkynbayev, acting editor 11 - 28 Feb, 1 - 22 Mar 51
3. A. Purliyev, acting editor 1 Mar - 16 May 51
4. Hovanes Baghtasaryan, acting editor up to 26 Jan, and 17 - 22 Feb 51
5. J. Karosas, acting editor up to 7 Feb 51

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Table 2. Total Number of Items by Subject and Source in 6 and 7 January 1951 Issues of 15 Non-Russian-Language Newspapers

	Cina	Kizil Uzbekiston	Kommunist	Kommunisti	Kyzyi Kyrgyzstan	Moldova Socialiste	Radyns'ka Ukraine	Rabva Haal	Sotsialistik Kazakhstan	Sovet Turkmenistany	Sovetskaya Hayastan	Tiesa	Totikistoni Suriya	Totus	Zvyazda
Total number of items	103	61	88	94	70	78	87	116	105	65	73	133	52	89	117
Total items not found in Russian newspapers	46	32	44	45	42	45	48	69	55	41	41	63	26	55	57
Total items not found in % of total items	45	52	50	48	60	58	55	59	52	63	56	47	50	62	49
Industry, total items	12	1	3	11	13	10	12	12	13	1	4	5	5	2	21
Industry, not found	10	1	3	11	12	10	11	12	13	1	3	5	5	2	19
Agriculture, total items	9	11	10	8	4	6	5	18	11	11	5	4	4	22	10
Agriculture, not found	9	11	10	7	3	6	5	17	10	10	5	3	4	21	8
Party, total items	2	3	5	1	3	7	8	2	11	4	8	4	4	5	9
Party, not found	2	0	3	0	1	7	7	2	11	4	6	3	2	4	9
Foreign, total items	36	12	30	24	12	23	30	40	35	17	16	51	11	25	41
Foreign, not found	0	0	5	1	1	2	5	7	2	3	1	4	0	3	6
Sociological, total items	6	8	19	13	10	8	16	19	9	10	12	19	9	10	11
Sociological, not found	3	7	14	5	3	3	10	14	4	4	8	10	3	9	5
TASS, total items	44	17	37	32	18	25	20	48	47	18	20	60	15	27	52
TASS, not found	3	0	6	3	5	1	2	12	8	3	1	5	1	4	11
TASS items in % of total	43	17	42	34	26	22	13	31	45	28	27	45	29	30	34

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Republic telegraph agency, total items	4	8	1	9	6	7	6	12	6	2	2	65	3	1	6
Republic telegraph agency, not found	4	8	1	9	6	5	5	10	6	2	1	7	3	1	3
Correspondents' stories, total	7	12	18	6	8	24	26	27	23	20	16	28	12	20	24
Correspondents' stories, not found	7	12	18	6	7	24	26	27	22	20	16	28	9	18	24
Editorials, total	5	2	5	5	2	6	3	3	3	3	2	4	2	2	4
Editorials, not found	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Pictures, cartoons, maps, total items	4	3	3	2	6	6	5	6	5	2	5	5	2	18	6
Pictures, cartoons, maps, not found	4	3	3	2	5	6	5	6	5	2	5	4	2	18	4
Official announcements, total	3	7	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	4	3	5	4	5
Official announcements, not found	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Letters to editor, total	1	-	3	-	6	2	3	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Letters to editor, not found	1	-	3	-	6	2	3	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-

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